

PP

Papiamentu (Creole Spanish/Portuguese)

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Introduction¹

Papiamentu (PP), a Spanish- and Portuguese-lexifier Creole, is spoken in the Caribbean islands Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao (so-called 'ABC' islands), where it is the *de facto* national language, though it still lacks official status. It is spoken by most of the islands' population of c. 300,000, irrespective of socio-economic position or racial appearance (Dijkhoff et al 2006 note that it is a home language for 69-83%, according to the 2001 census). Migration has also resulted in PP-speaking minorities of c. 70,000 in the Netherlands, several thousand in Sint Maarten, and several hundred in Suriname, Puerto Rico, and the US Virgin Islands.

As relative latecomers to the Caribbean, Dutch attempts to gain a foothold there in the early 17th century often pitted them against an already established European presence. The Dutch West India Company (DWIC) captured Curaçao from the Spanish in 1634, deporting the Spanish as well as most of the Indian population to Venezuela, and then captured Bonaire and Aruba in 1636, where the small population of Indians was allowed to remain. Indian resettlement of Curaçao from Venezuela was subsequently encouraged. The uninhabited islands Saba, Sint Eustatius and Sint Maarten, c. 900 km northeast of the ABC islands, were also occupied in the 1630s. These northern islands, especially Sint Eustatius, continuously changed hands during the 17th and 18th centuries. The British occupied all Dutch territories in the Caribbean during most of 1781-1816, but Dutch Caribbean colonial claims were not contested again after 1816. The situation of dual colonial claims over Sint Maarten was formalized in 1648, when the island was divided into French Saint Martin and Dutch Sint Maarten. The ABC and northern islands were brought under a single administration in 1845. Limited self-governance was instituted in 1937, full autonomy within the Netherlands kingdom in 1954. Rivalry between Aruba and Curaçao culminated in Aruba's exit from the federation in 1986, when it acquired its *status aparte* 'separate status' within the Netherlands kingdom.

Curaçao functioned as a DWIC slave depot during the 17th and 18th centuries, with few African slaves actually remaining in the islands. Despite this, the relatively small numbers of Indians in Curaçao were quickly outnumbered by Africans. In Aruba, the Indian population remained a majority until the 19th century (Alofs et al 1997). Except in the form of lexical contributions to PP, the Arawakan language of these Indians has not survived, however (van Buurt & Joubert 1997).

PP quickly became the vernacular in Curaçao, spreading from there to Aruba and Bonaire. The number and prominent position of Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking Jews in Curaçao, as well as the close proximity and influence of Spanish-speaking Venezuela, are held responsible for the Portuguese/Spanish base of PP. The nature of the early contributions of Portuguese and Spanish are subject to debate, with some authors assuming an original Portuguese-lexifier Creole masked by a substantial Spanish overlay (e.g. Goodman 1987, Smith 1987, Maurer 1986b), while others passionately defend the position that PP has never been anything other than a Spanish-lexifier Creole (e.g. Maduro 1966, Ferrol 1982), a position which now appears untenable in the light of evidence discussed in Smith (1987). Clearly, however, Spanish has been the main lexical source. It continues to be a major source of lexical innovation, with Dutch and English as lesser influences.

Although PP was formed in contact between West Africans and European planters, a substantial West African contribution is not found in the PP lexicon. However, fragments of Guene have survived in oral texts and songs, possibly representing an earlier Proto-Afro-Portuguese Creole, providing some evidence of an African linguistic heritage (Martinus 2004).

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In the northern islands, the presence of planters from the British Isles, and close connections with the surrounding British-colonized islands, made English a dominant linguistic influence. Papiamentu is currently a substantial minority presence in Sint Maarten due to migration from Curaçao and Aruba in recent decades, but not in Saba and Sint Eustatius.

The database for this description of PP grammar consists of data collected from Curaçaoan and Aruban speakers over the years by Silvia Kouwenberg and the Curaçaoan native-speaker intuitions of Abigail Michel, supplemented by data from published sources, acknowledged in the text. Although no Bonaire PP data are provided, the variation in grammar between the islands is sufficiently minor that the description can be assumed to be representative of PP as spoken in the three islands.

The orthography adopted by Curaçao and Bonaire is used here (Joubert 1991; Kouwenberg & Murray 1994: 4ff discuss the differences between this and the Aruban orthography). Where necessary, the orthography of examples taken from published sources has been adapted. Where lexical items are quoted which differ substantially in Aruban PP as compared to Curaçaoan PP, the Aruban form follows the Curaçaoan form (e.g., *ke* / *kièr* ‘want’).

Singular object pronouns form a phonological word with a preceding verb or preposition, subject to certain conditions. We use a dash to represent this phonological dependency of the object pronoun, e.g. *bisa-mi* [tell-1s], *pa-mi* [for-1s]. The 3s object pronoun is, in fact, inseparable from a preceding verb or preposition, e.g., *bisé* < *bisa e* [tell 3s], *pé* < *pa e* [for 3s], *kuné* < *ku e* [with 3s], §17.3. Something similar holds for sequences consisting of a singular subject pronoun and the perfective aspect marker *a*, where an apostrophe marks an elided vowel, e.g. *m’a* < *mi a* [1s-PFV].

1 Unmarked verbs

TMA marking in PP has been described in depth in Maurer (1988b). Other publications which pay considerable attention to the subject include Goilo (1953, 1972), Andersen (1990), Muller (1989). Below, we consider TMA marking in main clause contexts only. (See §8 for embedded contexts.)

1.1 Statives with non-past reference

Zero marking of main verbs in main clauses is restricted to a subset of the class of stative verbs, viz. those which do not admit combination with preverbal *ta*. There are no verbs which fail to combine with the other preverbal modifiers. Thus we can distinguish three sets of verbs:

- some statives do not combine with *ta* (*konosé* ‘know, be acquainted with’, *sabi* ~ *sa* ‘know’)
- some other statives are optionally modified by *ta* (*stima* ‘love’, *kosta* ‘cost’)
- the remaining statives and all non-statives require *ta* (*deseá* ‘want, wish’, *kanta* ‘sing’)

Stative *yama* ‘be called’ in set (a, 1) is distinguishable from non-stative *yama* ‘call’ in set (c, 2) by the presence or absence of preverbal *ta* in relevant contexts.² The unmarked verbs (sets a-b) occur in the same range of tense contexts as stative verbs modified by preverbal *ta*. These include generic (1) and present reference (3). Auxiliaries such as *por* ‘can’, *mester* ‘must’ (4), and the copula *ta* (5) do not combine with preverbal *ta*.

- (1) *Mi yama Pápi*
1s be-called P ‘I am called Pappy’
- (2) *Mi ta yama mañan*
1s PRES call tomorrow ‘I will call tomorrow’
- (3) *Nos (ta) falta sinkuenta sèn*
1p PRES lack fifty cent (Muller 1989: 323)
‘We are fifty cents short’
- (4) *Tin ora mi (*ta) mester tapa mi kurpa pa sangura no pika mi*
have time 1s PRES must cover 1s body for mosquito NEG bite 1s
‘Sometimes I have to cover myself/ my body so that mosquitoes don’t bite me’
- (5) *Mayoría di e outo nan ku nan ta vende (*ta) ta mucho karo pa nan tamaño*
majority of DEF car PLUR REL 3p PRES sell PRES COP too expensive for 3p size
‘Most of the cars which they sell are too expensive for their size’

² For several TMA markers, the glosses do insufficient justice to the properties of the pertinent markers, reflecting instead the conventions established for this volume: PRES for non-past *ta*, PROG for gerundive *-ndo*, PAST for past imperfective *tabata*, HAB for *sa* – a preverbal marker the precise function of which is unclear. The discussion in the relevant sections clarifies the interpretation of these markers.

1.2 Statives with past reference

Unmarked statives do not have past reference.

1.3 Non-statives with past reference

1.4 Non-statives with non-past reference

Main clause non-statives are never unmarked.

1	Unmarked verbs: summary for PP	
1.1	Statives with non-past reference	+
1.2	Statives with past reference	0
1.3	Non-statives with past reference	0
1.4	Non-statives with non-past reference	0

2 Anterior (or past) tense

PP has an absolute rather than a relative tense system. Goilo (1953), Muller (1989), Andersen (1990), refer to *tabata* / *tawata* (henceforth jointly referred to as *tabata*) as marking past imperfective, with *a* usually characterized as marking a (tense-neutral) perfective. Maurer (1988b) characterizes both preverbal *tabata* and *a* as [+anterior] (subdistinguished as imperfective and perfective, respectively), suggesting that these forms should be constrained to similar tense reference. This is not supported by the data: *tabata* is restricted to a past context, *a* is not. Also, a past-before-past interpretation of *tabata* is obtained only in a context in which simultaneity of the events described is impossible (6). Failing such a context, a past-before-past interpretation is unacceptable (7). His position therefore appears untenable. (See also §12 on distinguishing copula forms from TMA markers.)

- (6) *Den e kas ku bo ta biba awor-ei, mi promé amor tabata biba antes* (Maurer 1988b: 101)
 in DEF house REL 2s PAST live now-DEM, 1s first love PAST live before
 'In the house where you are now living, my first love lived before'
- (7) *Ora mi a lanta awaseru tabata kai* (Muller 1989: 258)
 time 1s PFV get-up rain PAST fall 'When I got up, it was raining [*had been raining]'

2.1 Statives with past reference

The use of *tabata* before a stative verb signals past reference (8). The occurrence of a reduced form with the verb *tin* 'have' and the copula *ta*, resulting in *tabatin* [PAST-have] (9) and *tabata* [PAST-COP] (10), respectively, presumably reflect an older form **taba*. Historically, *tabata* is thought to have emerged from a combination of preverbal modifiers **taba* (past) and **ta* (imperfective), §3.1. These further suggest that past imperfective *tabata* may also be synchronically complex, i.e. **taba-ta*. However, its occurrence preceding verbs which do not admit combination with preverbal *ta* (e.g., *ke* 'want' in 8) provides evidence against such a position.

- (8) *Mi tabata ke kuminda*
 1s PAST want food 'I wanted food'
- (9) *Mi omo J tawatin un outo ku e mester a drecha promé ku Pasko*
 1s uncle J PAST-have IND car REL 3s must PFV repair before with Christmas
 'My uncle J had a car which he should have repaired before Christmas'
- (10) *Dia 24 di desèmber ainda e outo no tawata klá*
 day 24 of December still DEF car NEG PAST-COP ready 'On Dec. 24th the car still wasn't ready'

2.2 Non-statives with (past-before-) past reference

When premodifying a non-stative verb, *tabata* marks a past imperfective, which may involve a straightforward imperfective interpretation (11) or an iterative interpretation (12), depending on inherent aspectual properties of the verb or on the context of its use.

- (11) *Sink'or mi tabata lesa* (Goilo 1953: 107)
 five hour 1s PAST read 'At 5 o'clock, I was reading'
- (12) *Kada bes e tabata spièrta* (Maurer 1988b: 103)
 every time 3s PAST wake-up 'He kept waking up'

2.3 Anterior (or past) = counterfactual

A counterfactual reading cannot be attained by use of the past imperfective marker alone. The *tabata pa* construction, which combines the past form of the copula with a clause introduced by the prepositional complementizer *pa* ‘for’ (13), or the preverbal combination *lo a* [IRR PFV] (14), signal a counterfactual.

- (13) *E plan tabata pa bai buska dos hamster serka nan pero...*
 DEF plan PAST-COP for go get two hamster by 3p but
 ‘The plan was to fetch a couple of hamsters from them, but...’

- (14) *Si bo tabata stima mi, lo bo a bini ku mi*
 if 2s PAST love 1s IRR 2s PFV come with 1s
 ‘If you loved me, you would have come with me’

2.4 Anterior (or past) with adjective

2.5 Anterior (or past) with locative

Adjectival predicates (15) and PP (16) or other locative predicates are introduced by copula *ta* (non-past) or its past form *tabata*. A past-before-past interpretation is not normally obtained. See §12.1.

- (15) *Mi ta / tabata malu*
 1s COP / PAST-COP sick
 ‘I am / was sick’

- (16) *E ta / tabata den kurá*
 3s COP / PAST-COP in yard
 ‘She is / was in the yard’

2 Anterior (or past) tense: summary for PP		
2.1	Statives with past reference	+
2.2	Non-statives with (past-before-) past reference	+
2.3	Anterior = counterfactual	+
2.4	Anterior with adjective	0
2.5	Anterior with locative	0

3 Progressive aspect

3.1 Indicating progressive

The preverbal past marker *tabata* is used in imperfective contexts, including contexts where progressive aspect interpretations are obtained (7). Preverbal non-past *ta* similarly occurs sometimes in progressive contexts (6). Some authors (e.g. Andersen 1990: 67) consider *ta* to be an imperfective rather than a non-past marker. Several facts point to the historical validity of this assumption. Thus, its combination with an earlier **taba* (simple past, presumably) is likely to have been the source of the imperfective interpretation of *tabata*, §2). Also, following a modal auxiliary, it is in complementary distribution with perfective *a*, §7.3, pointing to its aspectual status. However, its obligatory occurrence with all but a small number of stative verbs in main clauses in non-past contexts militates against such an analysis for its modern use. Furthermore, it can be associated with aspectual interpretations (progressive, habitual) as well as non-aspectual interpretations (future, generic) – its interpretation is, thus, not always compatible with an imperfective status (17).

Progressive can be unambiguously expressed by suffixation of gerundive *-ndo* (18). Although of Spanish etymology, non-Spanish derived verbs (e.g., *stofia* ‘dust’ < D) can also take this suffix (*stofiendo* ‘dusting’). Use of *-ndo* has been extended to some consonant-final verbs as well (e.g., *fèrf* ‘paint’ < D; *fèrfiendo* ‘painting’). It is considerably more frequent in formal than in informal registers. The use of *-ndo* as a progressive marker in main clauses requires the presence of preverbal *ta* or *tabata*, (18), §3.3.

- (17) *Wan ta kanta / awor-akí / tur dia / otro luna* (based on Maurer 1988b: 82)
 W PRES sing / now-DEM / every day / next month
 ‘Wan sings [generic] / is singing right now [PROG] / sings every day [HAB] / will sing next month [FUT]’

- (18) *E kos ta bayendo hopi leu*
 DEF thing PRES go-PROG very far
 ‘The problem is becoming insurmountable’

3.2 Indicating future

Although future is most often expressed by irrealis *lo*, non-past *ta* can also indicate future. This is especially true of immediate future (19), but *ta* may occur in a context where it marks a hypothetical future, and – rather than immediacy – appears to mark conviction on the speaker's part of the truth of the statement (64). Maurer (1988b: 90ff) discusses the subtle distinctions between uses of *ta* and *lo*.

- (19) *Mi ta bini um-bé*
1s PRES come one-time 'I'm on my way'

3.3 Anterior plus progressive

Recall that *tabata* is not an anterior marker, §2, and note that the gerundive suffix *-ndo* tends to be associated with formal registers. Past imperfective *tabata* may cooccur with *-ndo* (20).

- (20) *den ora nan di marduga ora nos tabata patruyando kaya* (Maurer 1988b: 406)
in hour PLUR of dawn hour 1p PAST patrol-PROG street
'...in the early hours when we were patrolling the streets'

3.4 Progressive with adjective = inchoative

Adjectival predicates are introduced by the copula, which does not admit combination with preverbal *ta* or with the gerundive suffix *-ndo*.

3	Progressive aspect: summary for PP	
3.1	Indicating progressive	+
3.2	Indicating future	+
3.3	Anterior + progressive	+
3.4	Progressive with adjective = inchoative	0

4 Habitual aspect

4.1 Zero marker for habitual

Unmarked statives are not used with habitual reference.

4.2 Progressive marker for habitual

Non-past *ta* and past imperfective *tabata* can be used in habitual contexts, but a habitual interpretation is actually derived from the presence of adverbial expressions such as *tur dia* 'every day, daily' rather than from the preverbal marker (17). Gerundive *-ndo* does not mark habituals.

4.3 Marker for habitual only

Preverbal *sa*, presumably developed from a reduced form of the verb *sabi* 'know', comes closest to a habitual marker, indicating occasionally or habitually recurring activity (Maurer 1988b: 120ff, Muller 1989:317ff). For an unambiguous habitual interpretation, again, adverbial material is required.

- (21) *E sa uzé ora ku e kiè tene su kabei ariba den otro*
3s HAB use-3s hour COMP 3s want keep 3s hair up in each-other
'She uses it [at times/habitually] when she wants to have her hair gathered up'

4.4 Anterior plus habitual

PP does not have an anterior marker, §2, but Maurer's informants allow combinations of *sa* with past imperfective *tabata* or with non-past *ta*. Curiously, both orders *sa tabata* and *tabata sa* are deemed possible, apparently with no difference in meaning, whereas *sa ta* but not **ta sa* is considered acceptable. In contrast with these judgements, Muller (1989:320ff) finds *tabata sa* acceptable, but rejects both **sa tabata* and **sa ta*.

- (22) {*E tabata sa bini* / *E sa tabata bini*} *seka nos tur dia* (Maurer 1988b: 123)
3s PAST HAB come / 3s HAB PAST come by 2p every day 'He would visit us every day'

4	Habitual aspect: summary for PP	
4.1	Zero marker for habitual	0
4.2	Progressive marker for habitual	R
4.3	Marker for habitual only	+
4.4	Anterior + habitual	+

5 Completive aspect

5.1 Completive only (before/after V)

PP does not have a distinct grammaticalized means of marking completive, although there are several ways in which completive aspect may be expressed: by preverbal *a*, which marks perfective aspect (23, 24); by the adverb *kaba* ‘already’ (25); by the main verb *kaba* ‘finish’ – presumably the historical source of the adverb – with a complement introduced by *di* ‘of’ (26); or by *bini* ‘come’ followed by a bare verb complement.

Where preverbal *a* modifies a non-stative verb (23), a completive interpretation is often possible, but where it modifies a stative verb (24), it is clearly seen that its function is not to mark the completion of an event. *Bini* (usually in the reduced form *bin*), when used with a bare verb complement, sometimes retains a directional interpretation (27), but also frequently lacks directional meaning (28), and appears to mark a completed event instead.

- (23) *Siman pasá mi a bende bo outo*
week past 1s PERF sell 2s car ‘Last week, I sold your car’
- (24) *Mi a lubida ariba dje*
1s PERF forget on 3s ‘I forgot about it’
- (25) *Mi a kome bonchi kaba*
1s PERF eat bean already ‘I’ve already eaten beans’
- (26) *Mi a kaba di kome bonchi*
1s PERF finish of eat bean ‘I finished eating beans’ or ‘I have just eaten beans’
- (27) *Diaweps nan a bin kore “jet ski”*
Thursday 3p PFV come ride jet ski ‘Thursday, they came to ride on the jet ski’
- (28) *Ei -nan mi a bin haya e trabou ku mi ta hasiendo awor*
there-PLUR 1s PFV come find DEF work REL 1s PRES do -PROG now
‘Over there I got the job which I’m now doing’

5.2 Completive plus adjective

Adjectival predicates are introduced by the copula, which does not admit combination with the preverbal perfective marker *a*. Nor can an adjectival predicate function as the complement of *kaba* ‘finish’. It is possible, of course, for the adverb *kaba* ‘already’ to modify an adjectival predicate.

5.3 Anterior (or other pre-verbal markers) plus completive

Past imperfective *tabata* and perfective *a* do not co-occur. Verbal *kaba* may co-occur with the normal range of preverbal modifiers.

5	Completive aspect: summary for PP	
5.1	Completive only (before/after V)	0
5.2	Completive + adjective	0
5.3	Anterior (or other markers) + completive	0

6 Irrealis mode

6.1 Future (= progressive marker)

The preverbal markers *lo* (irrealis) and *ta* (non-past) can both express futurity, but the former often locates the event in a more distant or more uncertain future (29) than does the latter (30) (Maurer 1988b: 90ff). This does not, however, exclude *lo* from use in contexts where the event is one of which both speaker and hearer are convinced that it will take place (31).

Where the subject is a singular pronoun, *lo* normally occurs in a position preceding the subject pronoun, seemingly outside the predicate (29). This, combined with the polarizing tonal behaviour of the singular subject pronouns (Römer 1977), indicates the possible clitic status of these pronouns. The plural pronouns behave as true subjects, both in their placement before *lo* and their non-polarizing tonal behaviour. However, among some speakers it is possible to find *lo* in post-subject position in all contexts (31). It is worth noting that the sequence *ta bai* [PRES go] is also often used to mark a future, frequently appearing in a reduced form *tei*, perhaps an indication of grammaticalisation in progress. It is attested in contexts including both distant/uncertain future (32) and immediate/certain future (33).

- (29) *Lo mi bai kas mas lat*
IRR 1s go home more late 'I'll go home later'
- (30) *Mi ta bai kas mas lat*
1s PRES go home more late 'I'm going home later'
- (31) *Dia 11 di desember mi lo bai Aruba*
day 11 of December 1s IRR go A 'I will go to Aruba on December 11'
[NB: speaker had his ticket in hand]
- (32) *Si Hulanda hode mi, mi tei biba na Inglatera*
if H mess 1s, 1s PRES-go live LOC England 'If Holland messes me up, I'll go live in England'
- (33) *Mi tei drumi*
1s PRES-go sleep 'I'm going to sleep' [now]

6.2 Anterior plus irrealis = conditional

Conditional clauses appear to allow the full range of preverbal modifiers (e.g., *tabata* in the protasis of 34), with some contextual restrictions (Maurer 1988b:230ff). The most common occurrence is, however, for the verb in the conditional clause to be unmodified (35). There is, thus, no combination of preverbal modifiers which is associated with a conditional. Neither is TMA marking in the main clause (where *lo + a* occurs in the apodosis) restricted in any way by the presence of the conditional.

- (34) *Si mi tabata sa ku e fiesta lo tabata asina bon, lo mi a bai*
if 1s PAST know that DEF party IRR PAST-COP so good IRR 1s PAST go
'If I had known that the party was going to be so good, I would have gone'
- (35) *Si bo haya chèns di bishitá Cuba bo mester bai*
if 2s find chance of visit C 2s must go 'If you get the chance to visit Cuba, you must go'

6.3 Anterior plus irrealis = future in the past

Recall that PP has no anterior marker. The combination of irrealis *lo* and perfective *a* is associated with a counterfactual interpretation rather than a future in the past interpretation (36), although it also occurs signalling a situation which is inferred to have taken place. The same interpretation is typical also of the combination of irrealis *lo* with past imperfective *tabata* (37) or with non-past *ta*.

- (36) *M'a kere ku Maria lo a hiba-mi bo kas*
1s-PFV think COMP M IRR PFV take-1s 2s house
'I thought that Maria was going to take / would have taken me to your house'
- (37) *Lo mi tabata baña*
IRR 1s PAST shower 'I would have been / was probably taking a shower'

6.4 Anterior plus irrealis = future perfect

Such a combination of form and meaning does not exist in PP.

6	Irrealis mode: summary for PP	
6.1	Future (= progressive marker)	+
6.2	Anterior + irrealis = conditional	+
6.3	Anterior + irrealis = future in the past	0
6.4	Anterior + irrealis = future perfect	0

7 Other combinations of verbal markers

Preverbal non-past *ta*, past imperfective *tabata* and perfective *a* do not cooccur in preverbal position, perhaps an indication that they share an essentially aspectual position. It is, however, possible for these to cooccur in a single proposition in the presence of a modal auxiliary, §7.3.

7.1 Irrealis plus progressive

That the Mood Phrase dominates all other verbal projections can be seen from the cooccurrence options of irrealis *lo* with other preverbal modifiers, including preverbal negation, §10, which it invariably precedes. Irrealis *lo* may cooccur with perfective *a* (36), past imperfective *tabata* (37), or non-past *ta* (38, in which no future is intended). It is also possible for the main verb to appear in the gerundive form, provided preverbal *ta* or *tabata* is present (39).

- (38) *Mi ta spera ku nan lo ta bon i salut*
 1s PRES hope COMP 3p IRR COP good and healthy 'I hope that they are all right and in good health'
- (39) *Ora bo yega lo mi ta komiendo un fruta* (Maurer 1988b: 327)
 hour 2s arrive IRR 1s PRES eat-PROG IND fruit 'When you arrive, I'll be eating a piece of fruit'

7.2 Anterior plus irrealis plus progressive

Recall that no PP anterior marker exists to support such a combination. It is, however, possible to combine irrealis *lo* with past imperfective *tabata* and a verb in the gerundive form, §7.1. Furthermore, several preverbal markers can be combined in the presence of a modal auxiliary, §7.3.

7.3 Other auxiliary-like elements

We distinguish the following modals: *ke/kiër* 'want' (desiderative; also an independent verb 'want'), *mester* 'must' (necessity, obligation) and *por* 'can' (possibility, ability; also an independent verb *por* 'be able'). Of these, *mester* may precede either *por* or *ke* (40). These modals may be preceded by irrealis *lo* (38, 40) or past imperfective *tabata*. They further subcategorize for a predicate which may contain *a*, *ta*, or *tabata* (the latter not simultaneous with pre-modal *tabata*). One can thus find combinations of pre-V modifiers in the presence of a modal auxiliary which are not otherwise attested. Based on Maurer's (1988b) description, the following options appear to be available:

SUBJ *lo tabata* MOD-1 MOD-2 { *a* / *ta* / (*tabata*) } V...

Pre-modal *tabata* combines with *lo* with inductive force (41), whereas its post-modal combination with *lo* results in a counterfactual reading (42), showing that the different positions are associated with different scope properties.

- (40) *E ora nan lo mester por papia Ingles ku e turista nan*
 DEF hour 3p IRR must can speak English with DEF tourist PLUR
 'In that case they have to be able to speak English with the tourists'
- (41) *Lo e tabata por ta traha den kurá ora b'a bèl* (Maurer 1988b: 291)
 IRR 3s PAST can PRES work in yard hour 2s-PFV call
 'Possibly, he was working in the yard when you called (on the phone)'
- (42) *Lo mi por tabata landa awor-akí si mi no a kibra mi pia* (Maurer 1988b: 292)
 IRR 1s can PAST swim now-DEM if 1s NEG PFV break 1s leg
 'I could have been swimming right now had I not broken my leg'

7	Other combinations of verbal markers: summary for PP	
7.1	Irrealis + progressive	+
7.2	Anterior + irrealis + progressive	+
7.3	Other auxiliary-like elements	+

8 Complementizers

We restrict the discussion to complement clauses of verbal predicates, leaving complement clauses of adjectives and prepositions for brief discussion in §9.2. Nor are indirect questions, which may be introduced by *si* 'if, whether', or headed by an interrogative pronoun, considered here.

Finite, non-finite, so-called gerundial clauses and bare VP complements may be distinguished. Complement types and their properties are discussed in Van Putte (1985), Maurer (1988b), Mufwene & Dijkhoff (1989), Kouwenberg (1990), Van Putte & Garcia (1990), Dijkhoff (1993), Muysken (1992).

8.1 Zero infinitive marker

The directional verbs *bai* 'go', *bini/bin* 'come' and *bolbe* 'return', select bare VP complements, both in uses as motion verbs and in contexts where they lack a directional interpretation, e.g. *bai* in (13), *ta bai* > *tei* introducing events located in the future (32), and *bini/bin* introducing completed events or results (28). In (43) *bolbe* is used with a non-literal interpretation. In contrast with *pa*-introduced infinitives, §8.2, bare VP complements are strictly subcategorized by the set of verbs mentioned here. There is no evidence that these complements are infinitives in the sense of containing a covert subject and a null complementizer. Postulating a zero infinitive marker/complementizer appears ill-advised. Embedded infinitive clauses (44) and direct perception complements (45) contain an overt subject case-marked by a preceding main verb. Muysken (1992) shows perception complements to be gerundials, allowing the occurrence of preverbal *ta*.

- (43) *Mi lo bolbe bai dialuna*
1s IRR return go Monday 'I will go again on Monday'
- (44) *Un amigo di mi a yuda-mi traha e pagina aki*
IND friend of 1s PFV help-1s work DEF page DEM 'My friend has helped me prepare this page'
- (45) *El-a mira e muhé ta bini*
3s-PFV see DEF woman PRES come (Juliana 1970: 18)
'He saw the woman coming'

8.2 'For' as infinitive marker

Kouwenberg (1990) argues that it is possible to distinguish between finite and non-finite clauses introduced by prepositional complementizer *pa*: the former contain an overt subject, the latter a covert subject; the former accept past imperfective *tabata*, the latter do not (46, 47). Maurer 1988b: 178) shows that acceptability of TMA marking may depend also on the type of *pa*-clause: desideratives (46) accept the widest range of TMA marking, while TMA marking in purposives (48) and directives/promises (49) is much more restricted. *Pa* may be omitted in directives and desideratives, but not in purposives. Where the embedded subject is controlled by a main clause argument, it is usually (50), but not always (48), covert.

- (46) *Mi tabata ke pa bo tabata piki koko*
1s PAST want for 2s PAST pick coconut 'I wanted you to have been gathering coconuts'
- (47) *Mi tabata ke pa (*tabata) piki koko*
1s PAST want for PAST pick coconut 'I wanted coconuts to be gathered'
- (48) *Mi a kumpré pa mi dreché*
1s PFV buy-3s for 1s repair-3s 'I bought it to fix it' [a damaged car]
- (49) *El-a pidi -mi pa mi bai piska kuné un biaha*
3s-PFV request-1s for 1s go fish with-3s one time 'He has asked me to go fishing with him some time'
- (50) *Mi a bai "Job Centre" pa buska trabou*
1s PFV go Job Centre for search work 'I went to the Job Centre to look for work'

Several authors (Dijkhoff 1993, Maurer 1988b) point to some measure of interchangeability of *pa*-complements with *di*-complements. In fact, most *di*-clauses are idiomatically subcategorized, as for instance *kaba di* [finish of] 'just finish' (26), *disidí di* [decide of] 'decide to', *yega di* [arrive of] 'have experience of', *lubidá di* 'forget to' (51), etc. (52) is one of very few cases in the data which do not involve idiomatic subcategorization; in this case, *di* and *pa* are interchangeable. The embedded subject is covert, and no TMA marking can appear in the *di*-clause.

- (51) *No lubidá di bini serka mi*
NEG forget of come by 1s 'Don't forget to look me up'
- (52) *Mi tambe lo purba di ta presente e ora*
1s also IRR try of COP present DEF hour 'I will try to also be there at that time'

8.3 'For' as a (quasi-) modal

Pa 'for' does not function as a (quasi-)modal.

8.4 'For' introducing a tensed clause

As seen in §8.2, it is possible to argue that some *pa*-clauses are finite.

8.5 Subordinator from superstrate 'that'

Clauses introduced by *ku* 'that', presumably derived from the superstrate complementizer *que*, are subcategorized by utterance verbs (53), perception verbs and psychological verbs (both 54). *Ku*-clauses are finite, as can be seen in the obligatory presence of an overt referential subject, and in the fact that *ku*-clauses accept the full range of TMA markers. Muysken (1992) argues that after perception verbs, only indirect perception complements, such as that following *wak* 'see' in (54), are introduced by *ku*, whereas direct perception complements are null-introduced gerundials, §8.1. *Ku* is sometimes optionally present (Van Putte & Garcia 1990).

- (53) *Mi mama a bisa ku e ta bai manda bo un karta*
 1s mother PFV say COMP 3s PRES go send 2s a letter
 'My mother has said that she is going to send you a letter'
- (54) *Mi a kere ku mi no a skirbi-bo, pero awor mi ta wak den mi papel nan*
 1s PFV believe COMP 1s NEG PFV write-2s but now 1s PRES see in 1s paper PLUR
ku mi a skirbi-bo karta dia 18 di april kaba
 COMP 1s PFV write -2s letter day 18 of April already
 'I thought I hadn't written to you, but now I see in my papers
 that I already wrote you a letter on the 18th of April'

8.6 Distinct subordinator after verb of speaking

There is no distinct subordinator for the complement clause of verbs of speaking alone, but see §8.5.

8.7 Zero subordinator

An analysis which postulates a null complementizer may apply to those instances where *pa*-clauses, §8.2-4, and *ku*-clauses, §8.5-6, are optionally introduced by an overt complementizer.

8	Complementizers: summary for PP	
8.1	Zero infinitive marker	0
8.2	'For' as infinitive marker	+
8.3	'For' as a (quasi-) modal	0
8.4	'For' introducing a tensed clause	+
8.5	Subordinator from superstrate 'that'	+
8.6	Distinct subordinator after verb of speaking	+
8.7	Zero subordinator	+

9 Dependent clauses

9.1 Subordinate clauses (non-embedded)

Non-embedded subordinate clauses can have a variety of adverbial functions, including temporal (55), concessional (56), conditional (67), introduced by various subordinators.

- (55) *Ora ku mama bini, lo mi bisé*
 time COMP mother come IRR 1s say-3s
 'When mother comes, I'll tell her'
- (56) *Maske e tabata traha duru, e no tabata logra nada*
 although 3s PAST work hard 3s NEG PAST attain nothing
 'Although s/he was working hard, s/he was not getting anywhere'
- (57) *Ku bo keda ei-den, bo ta muri*
 COMP 2s remain there-in 2s PRES die
 (Maurer 1988b: 352, from Juliana 1970)
 'If you stay in there, you will surely die'

9.2 Subordinate clauses (embedded)

Embedded subordinate clauses include complement clauses of various types, §8, free relatives, and *pa*-introduced subject clauses. The *ku*-clause which follows an impersonal verb such as *parse* 'seem',

resultá ‘result, turn out’ (58), can be assumed to realize an internal argument of the verb, rather than represent a right-dislocated subject. This means that a null subject is assumed here (see Kouwenberg 1990 on empty non-referential subjects; cf. also §11.2).

Complement clauses to adjectives may be introduced by *ku*, *pa* (59), or *di* (again, with a certain level of interchangeability). This is an area of PP grammar which has not been subject to research. Complementation of nouns (60, 35) and prepositions (61) is similarly underdescribed. Clausal complementation of prepositions is usually subcategorized, i.e. the preposition selects the type of clause, e.g. *promé* ‘before’ selects a *ku*-complement (61).

Finally, it is possible for headless relative clauses to occupy various positions, including argument positions. In (62), the free relative introduced by *kaminda* functions as the locative complement of *laga*; in (63), the free relative introduced by *kende* is the goal complement of *duna*.

- (58) *A resultá ku nan no tabata bai skol mas*
 PFV result COMP 3p NEG PAST go school more
 ‘It turned out that they were no longer attending school’
- (59) *Tawata un poko straño pa miré sin “make-up” i hilchi halto*
 PAST-COP a little strange for see-3s without make-up and heel high
 ‘It was a bit strange to see her without make-up and high heels’
- (60) *A surgi e problema ki ora mester kuminsá* (Muller 1989:474)
 PFV raise DEF problem what hour must begin ‘The problem of when to begin has arisen’
- (61) *Ta dura dos siman promé ku mi haya bo karta*
 PRES last two week before COMP 1s receive 2s letter
 ‘It (generally) takes two weeks before I receive your letter’
- (62) *Si nos a laga nan kaminda nos a haya nan, pushi ta kome nan*
 if 1p PFV leave 3p where 1p PFV find 3p cat PRES eat 3p
 ‘Had we left them where we found them, a cat/cats would have eaten them’ [of baby birds]
- (63) *Mi ta duna kende ta mi amigu* (Muller 1989:502)
 1s PRES give who COP 1s friend ‘I give to whoever is my friend’

9.3 Relative clauses (relative pronoun = subject)

9.4 Relative clauses (relative pronoun = direct object)

9.5 Relative clauses (relative pronoun = object of a preposition)

The all-purpose complementizer *ku* ‘that’ also introduces relative clauses, but does not constitute a relative pronoun, §17.9. Relativization of a subject (64), direct object (65), and object of the preposition *den* ‘in’ (66) are possible, the latter containing the detransitivized form *aden* ‘inside’ of the preposition (Kouwenberg & Murray 1994:52). (64) further shows it to be possible for the head of a relative clause to be a pronoun rather than a full noun; see §15.4 on *es-un*, *es-nan* (66, 64).

- (64) *Ta solamente es-nan ku no tin plaka kesh ta kumpra outo*
 COP only PN-PLUR REL NEG have money cash PRES buy car
 ‘It is only those who don’t have cash that buy cars’ [from the local dealers’]
- (65) *Dividivi ta un tipo di palu ku bo ta haña na Antias*
 dividivi COP IND type of tree REL 2s PRES find LOC A
 ‘The dividivi is a kind of tree that you can find in the Antilles’
- (66) *E adrès ta un tiki diferente ku esun skirbí ariba e ènvelòp*
 DEF address COP IND bit different COMP PN written on DEF envelope
ku bo a manda bo karta aden
 REL 2s PFV send 2s letter inside
 ‘The address is a bit different from the one written on the envelope that you have sent your letter in’

The use of relative pronouns *kende* ‘who’, *kual* ‘which’ is by and large restricted to formal contexts and/or educated speakers. The following examples illustrate relativization of a subject (67), direct object (68), object of a preposition (69, with pied-piping of the preposition; §19), and location adverb (70). Of these, only the *kaminda*-relative cannot be replaced by a *ku*-relative, as the content of the relativized position is irrecoverable in that case. The pronominal nature of *kende* is clearly seen in its ability to appear with plural marker *nan* (67), that of *kual* in its ability to occur as object of a preposition, in contrast with *ku*, which requires preposition-stranding (69), §17.9. *Pa* also makes occasional appearances as relative clause introducer, before relatives with purposive function (71).

- (67) *E hòmber a presentá nèt na tempu*
 DEF man PFV appear just LOC time
pa chèk e tipo ladron nan kende nan / ku a kore bai
 for check DEF type thief PLUR who PLUR / REL PFV run go
 'The man appeared just in time to see the thieves who ran off...'
- (68) *Mi ta drechando un auto kual / ku mi lo bende despues*
 1s PRES repair-PROG IND car which / REL 1s IRR sell after
 'I am repairing a car which I will sell afterwards'
- (69) *E boto na kual bo ta mará / ku bo ta mará na dje, ta kore rònt*
 DEF boat LOC which 2s COP tied / REL 2s COP tied LOC 3s, PRES run round
 'The boat to which you are tied, moves around' [describing watersport activity]
- (70) *Awe mainta mi a bai na skol kaminda / *ku mi lo bai duna lès tur diaranson*
 today morning 1s PFV go LOC school where / REL 1s IRR go give lesson every Wednesday
 'This morning I went to the school where I will teach on Wednesdays'
- (71) *Despues nos lo buska un tereno grandi pa nos traha nos ofisina*
 after 1p IRR search IND plot large for 1p build 1p office
 'Later we will look for a large plot of land to build our office'

9.6 Relative clauses (zero relative pronoun)

Null-introduced relative clauses do not exist.

9	Dependent clauses: summary for PP	
9.1	Subordinate clauses (non-embedded)	+
9.2	Subordinate clauses (embedded)	+
9.3	Relative clauses (relative pronoun=subject)	+
9.4	Relative clauses (relative pronoun=direct object)	+
9.5	Relative clauses (relative pronoun=obj. of prep.)	+
9.6	Relative clauses (zero relative pronoun)	0

10 Negation

10.1 Single negation (verbal)

Standard negation is expressed by the preverbal negator *no*. The negator precedes preverbal non-past *ta*, past imperfective *tabata* (58) and perfective *a* (54), but follows irrealis *lo* and the subject (72). It is often reduced to a syllabic nasal homorganic with a following consonant (orthographic *n'* is phonetically [m] in (72), a palatal nasal in (73); see Bendix 1983). When preceding perfective *a*, reduction of the negator is accompanied by suppression of the perfective marker (73).

- (72) *Mañan lo mi no por / n'por bai*
 tomorrow IRR 1s NEG can / NEG-can go
 'I will not be able to go tomorrow'
- (73) *Wancho no a yega / n'yega na tempu*
 W NEG PFV arrive / NEG-arrive LOC time
 'Wancho did not arrive on time'

10.2 Discontinuous double negation

This does not occur in PP.

10.3 Negative concord

Negative concord or spread – the accompaniment of constituent negation by negation of the verb – is common (74), but appears to be optional (75). Muller (1989: 408ff) points to the negative polarity of *ainda* 'yet', counterpart of affirmative *kaba* 'already' (76). He also discusses some of the scope properties of negation (ibid: 422ff).

- (74) *Ningun hende no a paga nada*
 nobody person NEG PFV pay nothing
 'Nobody paid anything'
- (75) *Ningun kaminda nan ta bende papel normal di e tamaño aki*
 nobody place 3p PRES sell paper normal of DEF size DEM
 'They don't sell ordinary paper of this size anywhere'

- (76) *E oroplanu a baha kaba / E oroplanu no a baha ainda*
 DEF plane PFV go-down already / DEF plane NEG PFV go-down yet
 'The plane has landed already / The plane has not yet landed'

10	Negation: summary for PP	
10.1	Single negation (verbal)	+
10.2	Discontinuous double negation	0
10.3	Negative concord	+

11 Passive

11.1 Passive construction

The passive construction allows for the optional realisation of the agent introduced by *pa* (Curaçaoan; 77) or *dor di* (all dialects; 79). It further contains the freely interchangeable passive auxiliaries *wordu* (79) or *ser* (77, 78). The verb appears in the passive participle form; its derivation involves stress shift in bisyllabic verbs of Iberian origin, but no change in longer verbs of Iberian origin (Römer 1981, Dijkhoff 1993, Kouwenberg 1995). It further involves *he-* or *di-* prefixation in verbs of mostly Germanic origin (< D or < E; *ibid.*). Passives may appear with the full range of preverbal modifiers.

- (77) *Na mei e proyekto a ser entregá pa X*
 LOC M DEF project PFV PASS hand-in for X 'In May, the project was handed in by X'
- (78) *Papiamentu no ta ser duná na skol*
 P NEG PRES PASS given LOC school 'Papiamentu is not taught in school'
- (79) *E pòtrèt aki a wordo saká dor di e mucha hòmbler ku mi ta duna lès merdia nan*
 DEF picture DEM PFV PASS taken by of DEF child male REL 1s PRES give lesson midday PLUR
 'This picture was taken by the boy whom I teach middays'

11.2 Passive equivalent

Alternatives to the passive construction consist of (i) an active construction with non-referential *nan* [3p] as subject (80); (ii) an active construction with an unexpressed subject which has arbitrary reference (81, 82; the latter from the 1863 public announcement of the abolition of slavery). Unexpressed subjects are also found in impersonal expressions (58-59, 60, 64), §13.6, and with weather verbs (Kouwenberg 1990).

- (80) *Nan ta yamé Pápi*
 3p PRES call-3s P 'They call her Pappy'
- (81) *Ta entregá material pidí awe mañan* (Muller 1989: 102)
 PRES deliver material requested today tomorrow 'Orders placed today are delivered tomorrow'
- (82) *Na dia 30 di Septèmber di aña pasá, a publika e lei, pa kwal...*
 LOC day 30 of S of year passed, PFV publish DEF law, for which...
 'On the 30th of September of last year, the law was published, by which...'

11	Passive: summary for PP	
11.1	Passive construction	+
11.2	Passive equivalent	+

12 Adjectives: verbs?

12.1 Preverbal markers before adjectives

Adjectives and verbs are clearly distinct in PP. In addition to different semantic and distributional properties, they are distinguished also by their phonological properties, submitting to different stress and tone patterns (Kouwenberg & Murray 1994: 12ff, Kouwenberg 2004). Not only is there a sizeable class of underived adjectives, but participial adjectives are derived from verbal bases by conversion, which may result in tone and/or stress shift (Kouwenberg 1995), and affixation (Dijkhoff 1993).

Adjectival predicates require the presence of the copula *ta* or its past form *tabata* (§13). Römer (1977) has shown the copula to be distinct from the preverbal non-past marker *ta* in its tonal behaviour. Another argument for distinguishing copula *ta* from non-past marker *ta* is that it is possible for the full past imperfective form to appear with the copula (*tabata ta* [PAST COP]), although past copula form *tabata* [PAST-COP] is preferred (Maurer 1988b: 50). Such a sequence is not possible for the past imperfective and non-past markers: **tabata ta* (PAST PRES). We may further note that whereas copula *ta/tabata* can be stranded under extraction of its complement, §12.4-5, preverbal *ta* cannot. In sum, the copula *ta* is neither homophonous with the preverbal non-past marker *ta* (different tonal properties), nor does it have the same distributional properties. (83-5) contrast the verb *kansa* ‘tire, get tired’ (83) with the predicative use of its corresponding participial adjective *kansá* ‘tired’, introduced by copula *ta* (84), and its use as small clause predicate (85).

- (83) *E mucha nan ta kansa hende*
 DEF child PLUR PRES tire person ‘The children wear one out / are tiresome’
- (84) *Kisas e ta mucho kansá pa skirbi*
 perhaps 3s COP too tired for write ‘Perhaps he is too tired to write’
- (85) *Mi ta sinti-mi kansá*
 1s PRES feel -1s tired ‘I feel tired’

12.2 Preverbal markers before nouns

12.3 Preverbal markers before locatives

Nominal, and locative predicates too, are introduced by copula *ta* or its past form *tabata* (§13).

12.4 Predicate clefting: adjectives or adjectival verbs

Adjectives cannot undergo predicate cleft. Focus of a predicate AP is focus of a phrasal category, involving placement in initial position in the clause and optional introduction by highlighter *ta*. The copula, which introduces the predicate AP, is stranded (86). Maurer (1988b: 141ff) shows that whereas the copula may occur in a past form *tabata*, and cooccur with irrealis *lo*, the highlighter may only under exceptional circumstances accept any TMA modification. Römer (1977) also shows that the tonal behaviour of the highlighter is different from that of the copula. All this suggests that the highlighter is not identical to the copula.

- (86) *Ta malu mes Hose ta*
 HL sick even H COP ‘José is really sick’

12.5 Predicate clefting: other verbs

Verb focus is focus of a lexical head. Like focus of phrasal categories, it involves placement in initial position and optional introduction by highlighter *ta*, but a copy of the focussed verb remains in what is presumed to be the extraction site (Muysken 1977, Kouwenberg & Muysken 1995). (88) shows that negation of the highlighter does not have scope over the proposition.

- (87) *Ta pòst mi no a pòst e karta*
 HL mail 1s NEG PFV mail DEF letter ‘It’s that I hadn’t mailed the letter’ [not that I hadn’t written it]
- (88) *Dios sa, no ta muri e ta bai muri*
 god know NEG HL die 3s PRES go die (Maurer 1988b:145, from Pinto 1983:10)
 ‘God knows if he isn’t going to die’

12.6 Comparison with ‘pass’

A “pass”-comparative does not exist.

12.7 Comparison as in superstrate

Comparatives are formed by using the constructions “*A ta mas X ku B*” [A COP more X COMP B] and “*A ta menos X ku B*” [A COP not as/less X COMP B], with suppletive comparative forms *mihó* ‘better’ and *pió* ‘worse’ for *bon* ‘good’ and *malu* ‘bad’.

- (89) *Mi ta hopi mas chikitu ku -bo*
 1s COP very more small COMP-2s ‘I am much younger than you are’

12	Adjectives: verbs? summary for PP	
12.1	Preverbal markers before adjectives	0
12.2	Preverbal markers before nouns	0
12.3	Preverbal markers before locatives	0
12.4	Predicate clefting: adj. or adjectival verbs	+
12.5	Predicate clefting: other verbs	+
12.6	Comparison with 'pass'	0
12.7	Comparison as in superstrate	+

13 The copula

13.1 Equative copula (with NP)

13.2 Locative copula (with expression of place)

13.3 Zero copula with adjective

The non-past copula *ta*, or its past form *tabata* (94), introduces all non-verbal predicates: nominals (90), locations (91), attributes (92), and clausal predicates (13), irrespective of whether they describe an inherent, acquired or temporary state. There is thus no separate locative copula, nor do adjectival predicates allow a zero copula. The copula may be modified by irrealis *lo* or negative *no* (91).

- (90) *E ta un mohé chikito*
3s COP IND woman small 'She is a short woman'
- (91) *Tin un par di kras riba e pòtrèt. E kras nan no ta riba mi outo*
have IND couple of scratch on DEF picture DEF scratch PLUR NEG COP on 1s car
'There are a few scratches on the picture [of my car]. The scratches are not on my car'
- (92) *Mi ta loko pa sa kon e faks aki lo yega*
1s COP mad for know how DEF fax DEM IRR arrive
'I am anxious to know in what condition this fax will arrive'

13.4 Highlighter with question words

Question word questions involve preposing of a question word, optionally introduced by the highlighter *ta* (Muysken 1977, Kouwenberg & Murray 1994).

- (93) *Kon a para ku bo outo nobo?*
how PFV stand with 2s car new 'How are things with your new car?'
- (94) *Ta kiko bo ta hasi?*
HL what 2s PRES do 'What are you doing?'

13.5 Highlighter with other structures

Focus may apply to all phrasal constituents, including DPs, PPs (95), predicate APs, §12.4, adverbials of all sorts (96), and verbs, §12.5. In each case, the focussed constituent is optionally introduced by the highlighter/copula *ta*.

- (95) *Lastimá ta pa trabou mi t'aki*
alas HL for work 1s COP-here 'Too bad it's for reasons related to work that I am here'
- (96) *Ta anochi so ta hasi mucho calor den e kamer chikito ku mi tin*
HL night only PRES do too hot in DEF room small REL 1s have
'Only at nights it gets too hot in the small room that I have'

13.6 Existential ('have' = 'there is')

Tin 'have' can be used as an existential verb, in a construction containing an unexpressed subject (97). This construction is also often used to describe weather conditions and time (98).

- (97) *Tin un gai Portuges aden*
have one guy P inside 'There's one Portuguese-speaking guy among them'
- (98) *Awor-aki tin diesun or di mainta*
now -DEM have eleven hour of morning 'It is now eleven a.m.'

13	The copula: summary for PP	
13.1	Equative copula (with NP)	0
13.2	Locative copula (with expression of place)	0
13.3	Zero copula with adjective	0
13.4	Highlighter with question words	+
13.5	Highlighter with other structures	+
13.6	Existential ('have' = 'there is')	+

14 Serial verbs

Verb strings can express a single, complex event, or several, separate events (Bendix 1972). The latter do not constitute serial verb constructions (Van Putte & Garcia 1990, Kouwenberg & Murray 1994: 47ff); such separate events may be consecutive (99) or simultaneous (100). Directional serials express a single event, and their status as serial verb constructions is unproblematic, §14.1-2. There is also a type of serialization where a following verb serves to qualify an event described by a preceding verb, e.g. by describing its purpose (101) or result (102). Adverbial *kaba* 'already' may have its historical source in a serial construction in which *kaba* 'finish' appeared as final verb, §5.

- (99) *Si e yu tin hamber, kumpra pan duna e yu*
 if DEF baby have hunger buy bread give DEF baby
 'If the baby is hungry, buy bread and give it to the baby'
- (100) *E tabata drumi ronka sosega*
 3s PAST sleep snore rest
 'S/he was sleeping there, snoring and resting'
- (101) *Mi a hibé drecha*
 1s PFV take-3s repair
 'I took it to have it repaired'
- (102) *Outo a dal e mata*
 car PFV hit 3s kill
 'A car hit her/him/it and killed her/him/it'

14.1 Directional with 'go'

14.2 Directional with 'come'

Bai 'go' and *bini* 'come' can be used in a directional serial verb construction to specify the direction of a preceding motion verb.

- (103) *Sali bai Punda*
 leave go P
 'Go out to Punda'
- (104) *El a kore bin kas*
 3s PFV run come house
 'S/he ran home / came home running'

14.3 Serial 'give' meaning 'to, for'

A dative or benefactive serial does not exist. (99) illustrates use of *duna* 'give' in a construction which describes a string of events, a construction which is not considered serial.

14.4 Serial 'say' meaning 'that'

A complementizer serial does not exist.

14.5 Serial 'pass' meaning 'more than'

A comparative serial does not exist. (105) illustrates the non-literal use of a directional serial *pasa bai* 'pass go'. While the net result is a "more than" interpretation, this cannot be considered a comparative serial.

- (105) *Awor si mi a pasa bai laga -bu den propiedat*
 now yes 1s PFV pass go leave 2s in property
 'Now I have more property than you'

14.6 Three serial verb constructions

14.7 Serial verb constructions with 4 or more verbs

There are no serial verb constructions which require three or more verbs, although it is possible to string three or more verbs by combining different types of serials, e.g., a directional serial combined

with a qualifying serial as in (105). More often, strings of three and more verbs express separate events, which are unlikely to constitute serial verb constructions (100).

14	Serial verbs: summary for PP	
14.1	Directional with 'go'	+
14.2	Directional with 'come'	+
14.3	Serial 'give' meaning 'to, for'	0
14.4	Serial 'say' meaning 'that'	0
14.5	Serial 'pass' meaning 'more than'	0
14.6	3 serial verb constructions	R
14.7	Construction with 4 or more serial verbs	R

15 Noun phrase

15.1 Bare nouns (generic, definite)

Bare nouns have generic reference, e.g. *propiedad* 'property' in (105), or are name-like (106). Unmarked/generic use of a NP does not necessarily mean that number is not implied. Thus, the number implication of generic statements such as *bai dōkter* [go doctor] 'visit the doctor' is clear. Similarly, utterances such as (107, 108), in which the verb + bare noun sequence appears to describe a type of chore in generic terms, also normally imply reference to a singular entity (Muller 1989: 525ff).

- (106) *Mi lo tin di entregá un formulario na pòstkantor*
 1s IRR MOD of hand-in IND form LOC post-office 'I will have to hand in a form at the post office'
- (107) *E tin ku fèrf kas mañan*
 3s MOD COMP paint house tomorrow 'He has to paint the house tomorrow'
- (108) *Ainda mi mester kumpra frishidèr*
 still 1s must buy fridge 'I still need to buy a fridge'

15.2 Indefinite article

The indefinite article *un* is invariable for gender, and restricted to singular reference. Unmarked NPs are often ambiguous between a singular and plural interpretation. As the appearance of the plural marker *nan* is restricted to definite contexts, it cannot disambiguate indefinite cases.

- (109) *E tin {un} kas grandi*
 3s have IND house large 'She has a large house / large houses'

15.3 Definite article (from superstrate deictic)

The pronominal definite article *e* is invariable for number; PP also makes no gender distinctions. It is assumed to derive from the masculine form of the superstrate singular definite article *el*. It is homophonous with the 3s pronoun *e*.

- (110) *E kas ta grandi / E kas nan ta grandi*
 DEF house COP big / DEF house PLUR COP big 'The house is big' / 'The houses are big'

15.4 Plural marker (= 'they')

The phrasal enclitic plural marker *nan* is homophonous with the third person plural pronoun *nan*, from which it presumably derives. Dijkhoff (1983a) shows that *nan* marks plural on any nominal expression, including pronouns (*boso nan* [2p PLUR] 'you (plural)') and other nominal proforms (e.g., *esun* 'the one', 66, vs. *esnan* 'the ones', 64), and relative pronouns (e.g., *kende nan* 'who (plural)', 67). In addition, proadverbs can be pluralized (e.g., *aki nan* [here PLUR] 'hereabouts', 121).

Where a noun is postmodified by an adjective, there is a choice of placing the plural marker directly after the noun, or following the (post-nominal) adjective (111). Plural marking of NPs conjoined by *ku* 'with' is final (112), §18.2. In contrast, *i* 'and' conjoins full DPs, with independent plural marking (113). Where a plural numeral or quantifier premodifies the noun, plural marking is generally absent (114, 115), but where the numeral/quantifier noun sequence is embedded in a larger definite DP, overt plural marking is often preferred (116).

- (111) *e bòter nan pretu / e bòter pretu nan* (Muller 1989: 549)
 DEF bottle PLUR black / DEF bottle black PLUR
 ‘the black bottles’
- (112) *e kuchú ku fòrki nan* (Dijkhoff 1983: 223)
 DEF knife with fork PLUR
 ‘the knives and forks’
- (113) *e kuchú i e fòrki nan / e kuchú nan i e fòrki nan*
 DEF knife and DEF fork PLUR / DEF knife PLUR and DEF fork PLUR
 ‘the knife and the forks’ / ‘the knives and the forks’
- (114) *Mi tin ocho ruman*
 1s have eight sibling
 ‘I have eight siblings’
- (115) *Mi a hiba nan na diferente sitio ku ta interesante pa turista*
 1s PFV take 3p LOC different site COMP COP interesting for tourist
 ‘I took them to different sites that are of interest to tourists’
- (116) *e tres dialekto nan di e luga* (Maurer 1988b: 388)
 DEF three dialect PLUR of DEF place
 ‘the three dialects of the region’

15.5 Personal noun plus plural marker

According to Dijkhoff (1983), personal names pluralized with the marker *nan* are ambiguous between a plural interpretation and an associative interpretation. For a plural interpretation to be obtained, however, it has to be a proper name (=definite, 117) or accompanied by the definite article.

- (117) *Maria nan* (Dijkhoff 1983: 223)
 M PLUR ‘Maria and her group of friends, relatives, etc.’ / ‘Marias’ [=all the people called Maria]

15.6 Demonstrative

15.7 Demonstrative plus definite or plural

The demonstratives *aki*, *ei*, *aya* are derived from and homophonous with adverbs *aki* ‘here’, *ei* ‘there’, *aya* ‘over there’. Their occurrence is restricted to definite contexts (118). The corresponding demonstrative pronouns are *esaki* (119), *esei* and *esaya*. The demonstrative occurs in final position, following the plural morpheme, where relevant (120). Where the plural morpheme follows, an adverbial interpretation results instead, with *nan* modifying *aki* (121).

- (118) *e kas aki / e kas ei / e kas aya*
 DEF house here / DEF house there / DEF house over there
 ‘this house’ / ‘that house’ / ‘that house over there’
- (119) *Esaki ta mi buki*
 DEM COP 1s book
 ‘This is my book’
- (120) *e kas nan aki*
 DEF house PLUR here
 ‘these houses’
- (121) *e kas aki nan*
 DEF house here PLUR
 ‘this house here’

15.8 Relative clause followed by definite or plural marker

A relative clause follows all other noun-modifying material, including plural *nan* (122).

- (122) *Awor mi ta hasiendo e ultimo kos nan ku mi tin ku hasi promé mi bai Aruba*
 now 1s PRES do-PROG DEF final thing PLUR COMP 1s MOD COMP do before 1s go A
 ‘I am now doing the last things which I have to do before I go to Aruba’

15.9 Prenominal adjective

15.10 Postnominal adjective

Adjectives normally appear in the postnominal position. Preverbal modifiers are either quantifiers (e.g., *delaster* ‘last’, *henter* ‘whole’, *algun* ‘some’, etc.), numerals and ordinals, or belong to a small class of adjectives which have an affective interpretation in the preverbal position (123, 124).

- (123) *un hende malu / un mal hende*
 IND person bad / IND bad person
 ‘a sick person’ / ‘a bad person’
- (124) *e mucha pover / e pover mucha*
 DEF child poor / DEF poor child
 ‘the poor child’ [without wealth] / ‘the poor child’ [arousing pity]

15.11 Gender agreement

There is no grammatical gender, hence no gender agreement in PP, in contrast with the situation in the main lexifier languages, but *amigo* / *amiga* ‘friend (m/f)’ is often distinguished. Also, some PP nouns inherited from Spanish words with gender-specific derivational morphemes maintain this distinction, e.g., *aktor* ‘actor’ versus *aktris* ‘actress’. It is possible to create compounds with *muhé* ‘woman’ or *hòmber* ‘man’ as righthand member to indicate natural gender, e.g., *yu muhé* / *yu hòmber* [child woman / child man] ‘daughter / son’.

15	Noun phrase: summary for PP	
15.1	Bare nouns (generic, definite)	+
15.2	Indefinite article	+
15.3	Definite article (from superstrate deictic)	0
15.4	Plural marker (= ‘they’)	+
15.5	Personal noun plus plural marker	+
15.6	Demonstrative	+
15.7	Demonstrative plus definite or plural	+
15.8	Relative clause followed by definite or plural marker	0
15.9	Prenominal adjective	+
15.10	Postnominal adjective	+
15.11	Gender agreement	0

16 Possession

16.1 Nouns: juxtaposition [possessor + possessed]

Lexical possessors cannot appear in a juxtaposition possessive.

16.2 Nouns: preposition [possessed (of) possessor]

Lexical possessors usually modify a possessed in a phrasal possessive of the type POSSESSED *di* POSSESSOR. This construction also denotes other types of relationships, e.g. partitives (91) and source relationships (116). It is also used to form phrasal compounds, the most productive word formation process of PP (Dijkhoff 1987, 1993, Kouwenberg & Murray 1994, Muller 1989), §15.4. As a result, sequences consisting of NOUN + *di* + MODIFIER are often potentially ambiguous between a possessive interpretation and a compound interpretation. Plural marking partially disambiguates these formations, as the plural morpheme must follow the syntactic head in the case of a possessive (125), but may appear finally in the case of a compound (126).

- (125) *e buki nan di skol* (Muller 1989: 542)
 DEF book PLUR of school ‘the books of the school’ / ‘the schoolbooks’

- (126) *e buki di skol nan*
 DEF book of school PLUR ‘the schoolbooks’

16.3 Nouns: possessive adjective [possessor HIS possessed]

Where a lexical possessor precedes a possessed noun, a dislocated possessive of the form POSSESSOR + PN + POSSESSED must be used. The pronoun which separates possessor and possessed is the singular third person possessive pronoun *su* which, however, is not number- or person-specific in this construction: as shown by Muller (1989: 538f) and Maurer (1988b: 38), it acts as a generic possessive pronoun. Note that Muller’s translations show the number interpretation of unmarked *buki* to be determined by pragmatic considerations.

- (127) *e mucha (nan) su buki* (Muller 1989: 538-39)
 DEF child PLUR POSS book ‘the child’s book’ / ‘the children’s books’

16.4 Possessive adjectives: prenominal

Possessive pronouns usually precede the possessed noun, but may also appear in a phrasal possessive (128), and a modified pronoun may also appear in the dislocated possessive (129).

- (128) *mi amigo / un amigo di mi*
 1s friend / IND friend of 1s 'my friend' / 'a friend of mine'
- (129) *boso tur su trabou*
 2p all POSS work (Maurer 1988b: 38)
 'the work of you all'

16.5 Possessive pronouns: distinct

Possessive pronouns are not distinct from the corresponding personal pronouns, except for the third person singular: *e* 'he, she, it' versus *su* 'his, her, its' (e.g., *su kas* 'her/his/its house'). When used in a phrasal possessive, *di* 'of' selects the suppletive form *dje* of the 3s pronoun, §17.3.

- (130) *un amigo di dje*
 IND friend of 3s 'a friend of hers/his'

16.6 Possessive pronoun as emphatic possessive adjective

The phrase *di* + PN can be used independently, but need not have an emphatic interpretation.

- (131) *Di dje no ta bon*
 of 3s NEG COP good 'Hers/his/its is no good'

16	Possession: summary for PP	
16.1	Nouns: juxtaposition [possessor + possessed]	0
16.2	Nouns: preposition [possessed (of) possessor]	+
16.3	Nouns: possessive adjective [possessor <i>HIS</i> possessed]	+
16.4	Possessive adjectives: prenominal	+
16.5	Possessive pronouns: distinct	+
16.6	Possessive pronoun as emphatic possessive adjective	+

17 Pronouns: case distinctions

There is little evidence in the PP personal pronoun system of morphological case distinctions. The subject, object and possessive forms of pronouns are non-distinct; the few exceptions are in the second singular (Curaçaoan dialect) and third singular. The clitic nature of the singular pronouns bars them from strong positions, where emphatic forms *ami*, *abo*, *e(le)* are selected instead. Kouwenberg & Murray (1994:38ff) describes the distribution of personal pronouns. See §15.4 on pro-forms *esun*, *es-nan*.

17.1 Personal pronouns: first person singular

- (132) *mi*
ami 'I, me, my'
 [EMPH]

17.2 Personal pronouns: second person singular

The Curaçaoan dialect selects *bu* as the usual enclitic object form of the second person singular pronoun *bo*; this is the most promising candidate for a morphological case distinction. Thus, raising of the final vowel of *bo* in (105) applies for Curaçaoan speakers, but not for Aruban speakers.

- (133) *bo*
-bu 'you, you, your'
abo 'you' [OBJ; Curaçaoan only]
 [EMPH]

17.3 Personal pronouns: third person singular

All dialects select suppletive forms of the 3s pronoun in various syntactic contexts, e.g., *kuné* < *ku e* 'with her/him/it' (49), *di dje* < *di e* 'of her/him/it' (130, 24), suppletive *el* preceding the perfective aspect marker *a* (104). That these are not case forms is obvious from the fact that other prepositions select the unmarked form, e.g., *pé* < *pa e* 'for her/him/it'. There is, however, a distinct genitive form *su* of the third person singular possessive pronoun (21).

- (134) *e* 'he, him; she, her; it'
ele [EMPH]
su 'his, her, its'

17.4 Personal pronouns: first person plural

- (135) *nos* 'we, us, our'

17.5 Personal pronouns: second person plural

- (136) *boso* 'you, you, your'

17.6 Personal pronouns: third person plural

- (137) *nan* 'they, them, their'

17.7 Reflexive pronouns: distinct form

Muysken (1993) provides a detailed description and analysis of PP reflexive constructions. Three main strategies may be distinguished:

- (i) a bare object pronoun following inherently reflexive verbs, e.g., *sinti* 'feel' in its psychological sense, (138);
- (ii) a possessive pronoun + *mes* 'self' (139) – this is the most commonly used strategy; and
- (iii) a body reflexive consisting of a possessive pronoun + *kurpa* 'body'; this is restricted to verbs denoting physical action, where it is often ambiguous between a reflexive interpretation and a literal interpretation (4), and a few idioms (e.g., *yuda su kurpa* [help POSS body] 'help oneself').

Where the pronoun + *kurpa* strategy can be used, the pronoun + *mes* strategy is equally acceptable, but the reverse situation does not hold, showing pronoun + *mes* to be the main reflexive form. It is also used in non-reflexive appositive/emphatic contexts (140).

- (138) *Bo ta sinti-bo manera ta na bo lugar bo ta?*
 2s PRES feel -2s as-if COP LOC 2s place 2s COP
 'Do you feel at home?' [lit.: Do you feel yourself as if it is in your place (that) you are?]
- (139) *Mi tei prepará mi mes pa e korant nan na Korsou publiká algu di mi*
 1s PRES-go prepare 1s self for DEF newspaper PLUR LOC C publish something of 1s
 'I'm going to prepare myself for the Curaçao newspapers to publish something about me'
- (140) *Mi lo laga omo J mes skirbi algo pa bo*
 1s IRR let uncle J self write something for 2s 'I will let uncle J himself write you something'

17.8 Interrogative pronouns: some bimorphemic

Most of the interrogative pronouns have been inherited in an opaque form from the lexifier (141). There are, however, a few which can be considered bimorphemic (142), consisting of a question particle *ki* [QW] + a questioned element (Muysken & Smith 1990).

- (141) *ken, kende* 'who'
kiko, ki 'what'
kua, kual 'which'
kon 'how'
di kon 'why'
pa kiko [for what] 'why'
unda 'where'
na unda [LOC where] 'where'
pa unda [for where] 'whereto, which way'
kuantu 'how much'
- (142) *di ken* [QW who] 'whose'
di ki manera [of QW manner] 'how'
ki ora [QW hour] 'when'
ki dia [QW day] 'when'
ki tempu [QW time] 'when'

17.9 Relative pronouns

The most common relative clause introducer, *ku* 'that', is not a relative pronoun. Recall that it introduces finite complement clauses and other finite subordinate clauses, §8.5, §9.1-2. As introducer of finite relative-clauses, it shows several properties which point to a complementizer status: (i) it is insensitive to properties of the head of the relative clause, introducing relatives with human and non-human reference; (ii) it may cooccur with a relative pronoun (143); (iii) it does not accept plural marking, as do relative pronouns, e.g. *kende nan* 'who (plural)' (67); and (iv) it requires stranding of a preposition, where relative pronouns allow pied-piping, e.g. *na kual* 'which' (69) / **na ku*.

Relative pronouns include *ken(de)* 'who', *kua(l)* 'which', *loke* 'which one', *pa kiko* 'why', and *kaminda* 'where'. Of these, *ken(de)*, *kua(l)*, *pa kiko* occur also as question words, *kaminda* ('place') as an independent noun. See §9.3-5 on relative clauses introduced by relative pronouns; also §15.4.

- (143) *Ya mi a kose tur loke ku mi a gusta*
 already 1s PFV sew everything which COMP 1s PFV like 'I've already sewn everything that I wanted'

17	Pronoun case distinctions: summary for PP	
17.1	Personal pronouns: first person singular	0
17.2	Personal pronouns: second person singular	+
17.3	Personal pronouns: third person singular	+
17.4	Personal pronouns: first person plural	0
17.5	Personal pronouns: second person plural	0
17.6	Personal pronouns: third person plural	0
17.7	Reflexive pronoun: distinct form	+
17.8	Interrogative pronouns: some bimorphemic	+
17.9	Relative pronouns	+

18 Coordinating conjunctions

18.1 'And' joining sentences

To conjoin sentences, *i* 'and' is used.

- (144) *Hòmber ta traha i muhé ta keda kas kwida yu*
 man PRES work and woman PRES stay home care-for child
 'The men work and the women stay home to take care of the babies'

18.2 'And' joining sentence parts: distinct

To conjoin sentence parts, including predicates, PPs, NPs and APs, *i* 'and' or *ku* 'with' can be used (145), the former suggesting a looser association than the latter (Richardson 1977; see also 112, 113). Where nominal constituents are involved, ambiguity between the comitative interpretation of *ku* 'with' and its use as a conjunction may result (146; Muller 1989: 472).

- (145) *Nos ta kanta i balia / Nos ta kanta ku balia*
 1p HAB sing and dance / 1p HAB sing with dance
 '[Sometimes] we sing and [sometimes] we dance' / 'We sing and dance' [at the same time]
- (146) *Ela kumpra pan i keshi / Ela kumpra pan ku keshi*
 3s-PFV buy bread and cheese / 3s-PFV buy bread with cheese
 'He bought bread and cheese' / 'He bought a cheese sandwich/bread and cheese'

18	Coordinating conjunctions: summary for PP	
18.1	'And' joining sentences	+
18.2	'And' joining sentence parts: distinct	+

19 Prepositions

PP is fairly rich in prepositions, including a large stock of complex prepositions which consist of a semantically meaningful part, e.g. *kontra* 'against' (147), followed by *di* 'of', the latter apparently functioning as a semantically underdetermined case marker (Kouwenberg & Murray 1994: 52ff).

Dijkhoff (1983b, 1989, 1993) has drawn attention to the appearance of resumptive pronouns wherever the nominal complement of a preposition is extracted: in focus constructions, question formation, and relativization. The contrast between pied-piping (148) and stranding of the preposition *ku* 'with' (149) in a focus construction is illustrated here. Stranding results in the appearance of the resumptive pronoun *e*, in a suppletive form (*ku*-)*me*. The resumptive pronoun is insensitive to person/number distinctions, as seen in (150), where a first person pronoun has been extracted. However, some speakers find the resumptive pronoun optional in such contexts.

- (147) *Ami kuné ta forma un tim pa nos hunga kontra di S su kolega nan di trabou*
 EMPH-1s with-3s PRES form IND team for 1p play against of S 3s colleague PLUR of work
 'Me and him will be forming a team to play against S's colleagues at work'
- (148) *(Ta) ku Wito ela papia awe* (Dijkhoff 1993: 17-18)
 HL with W 3s-PFV talk today
 'It's to Wito that he talked today'
- (149) *(Ta) Wito e ke papia kuné awe*
 HL W 3s want talk with-3s today
 'It's Wito he wants to talk to today'
- (150) *(Ta) ami e ke papia kuné / ku*
 HL EMPH-1s 3s want talk with-3s / with
 'It's *me* he wants to talk to'

19.1 General locative preposition (or postposition)

The general locative preposition *na* has a range of meanings, introducing both locationals (151) and goals (115). This frequently occurs also in contexts which do not involve a physical location or direction, as in the case of the goal argument in (152).

- (151) *Mi outo a haya sla na e banda robes*
 1s car PFV get beat LOC DEF side left
 'My car got dented at the left side'
- (152) *Mi ta enamora na mi outo*
 1s COP enamoured LOC 1s car
 'I love my car'

19.2 Zero preposition with motion verb plus place

Following a motion verb, a goal complement need not be introduced by a preposition if denoting a generic destination (e.g. *bai kas* 'go home', *bai ospital* 'go to hospital'), or if denoted by a name (e.g. *bai Korsow* 'go to Curaçao', *bai Silvia su kas* 'go to Silvia's place'). Thus in (115), the preposition *na* could be omitted. In other contexts, a preposition appears, e.g. (151).

19	Prepositions: summary for PP	
19.1	General locative preposition (or postposition)	+
19.2	Zero preposition after motion verb + place	+

20 Miscellaneous

20.1 Word order: questions SVO

PP has SVO word order, with indirect objects preceding direct objects. A statement can be made into a corresponding *yes/no* question without changing the order of constituents, by imposing an interrogative intonation (153), and optionally adding an interrogative tag (154). It is worth mentioning that subjects may occur in post-verbal position, e.g. (60), resulting in VS order, but that this option appears to be restricted to inanimate theme or experiencer subjects.

- (153) *E ta bisti e sapatu nan?*
 3s PRES wear DEF shoe PLUR
 'Is s/he putting on the shoes?'
- (154) *E ta bisti e sapatu nan, no?*
 3s PRES wear DEF shoe PLUR no
 'S/he is putting on the shoes, isn't s/he?'

20.2 Sentence-final -o

A particle *o* can occur at the end of a sentence to convey brusqueness or contradiction:

- (155) *Mi ta bin o!*
1s PRES come oh 'I'm coming!'
- (156) *Pero mi gusté o!*
but 1s like-3s oh 'But I like him!'

20	Miscellaneous: summary for PP	
20.1	Word order: questions SVO	+
20.2	Sentence-final -o	+

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